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ABSTRACT

The Christian Identity movement is a religious movement derived from the premise that the white race is the offspring of the lost tribes of Israel and that whites, not Jews, are God's chosen people. The "seedline doctrine," which is taught by Pastor Dan Gayman, a former high school principal, and other preachers of the Christian Identity movement, argues that the Jews are the literal children of Satan. Since this doctrine is not well understood by scholars of religion, this paper traces the development of the doctrine in Christian Identity thought and ponders its rhetorical implications through the lens of narrative criticism. To sharpen the focus, the paper analyzes Gayman's "The Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15," a book which is worthy of study because it has been widely distributed among Christian Identity believers. Two research questions guide the paper's analysis: (1) How does Gayman's use of storytelling develop mystical anti-Semitism for creating an ideology of division and vilification?; and (2) Does Gayman's narrative provide motives for violence? The paper begins with a brief historical overview of the Christian Identity movement and then discusses the critical method selected for analyzing Gayman's book.The narrative is examined by focusing on three critical issues: setting, character, and audience. The paper follows the description of the method by its application to the artifact. Finally, it explores the rhetorical implications of Gayman's narrative and the seedline doctrine. Contains 195 notes. (NKA)

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Mystical Anti-Semitism and the Christian Identity Movement: A Narrative Criticism of Dan Gayman's The Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15

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Mystical Anti-Semitism and the Christian Identity Movement:
A Narrative Criticism of Dan Gayman's The Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15

> Satan is the father of the serpent seed in Genesis 3:15. . . . By their very nature, the progeny of Satan are unresponsive to salvation in Jesus Christ. The hatred they have for God and everything Christian is bred into their very existence. The hatred of Genesis 3:15 is locked into the very genes of Satan's seed. They cannot be changed. . . . This offspring of Satan does what they do because their very nature, being evil, can only produce evil. This evil tree does not, cannot, and will never produce good fruit.
>
> Dan Gayman, 1994

This excerpt from Pastor Dan Gayman's book, The Two Seeds of Genesis 3: 15, concisely summarizes an insidious, anti-Semitic belief known as the seedline doctrine which is promulgated by many evangelists of the Christian Identity movement. The seedline doctrine, as taught by Gayman and other preachers of the movement, argues that the Jews are the literal children of Satan. Since this doctrine is not well understood by religious scholars, this essay will trace the development of the doctrine in Christian Identity thought and ponder its rhetorical implications through the lens of narrative criticism.

In order to sharpen the focus of this essay, Gayman's The Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15, was selected for analysis. This book is worthy of study because it has been widely distributed among Christian Identity believers. Two research were selected for guiding the analysis of the artifact: (1) How does Gayman's use of storytelling develop mystical anti-Semitism for creating an ideology of division and vilification? and (2) Does Gayman's narrative provide motives for violence? The essay begins with a brief overview of the Christian Identity movement. Attention then focuses on defining mystical anti-Semitism and tracing the evolution of the seedline doctrine. The next section discusses the critical method selected for analyzing Gayman's book. The description of the method is followed by its application to the artifact. Finally, the essay explores the rhetorical implications of Gayman's narrative and the seedline doctrine.

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A Synopsis of Christian Identity's Doctrines and History

Christian Identity is a religious movement derived from the premise that the white race is the offspring of the lost tribes of Israel. As an extension of this premise, the purveyors of the movement assert that God's covenants with the patriarchs of the Israelites have been bestowed upon the white race, making this race God's chosen people instead of the Jews. The movement's preachers also claim that the prophets foretold a separate destiny for the Jews and the Israelites. As a result of this doctrine, Identity believers claim that the Jews were forsaken by God and cursed to live out their lives as adversaries of the white race. Many of the movement's evangelists also preach the seedline doctrine, the belief that the Jews are the literal children of Satan. While other Identity preachers reject the seedline doctrine, they likewise vilify the Jews by arguing that the Jewish people are the offspring of despicable races. People of color are denigrated as the progeny of "pre-Adamites" or "beasts of the field," races constituting an inferior species to that of white people. Another widely accepted tenet of the movement rests on an apocalyptic view of the end-time which predicts that the Battle of Armageddon will be fought in the heartland of America between God's chosen race and Satan's agents. This millenarian doctrine is used by many of the movement's preachers to justify paramilitary training and the stockpiling of weapons. Finally, the evangelists of Christian Identity assert that Identity believers constitute the elect, the chosen few who will defeat the enemies of Christ and emerge as the rulers of the world when Christ returns to earth at the dawn of the millennium.[1]

The roots of the contemporary Identity movement have been traced to a nineteenth century religious movement known as British Israelism. Many historians and religious scholars have named Richard Brothers (1759-1824), an insane millenarian prophet of the 1790s, as the father of British Israelism.[2] Prior to his confinement in an asylum, he published A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times (1794-95), a two-part book which claimed that the British and others of Northern Europe were "invisible" Jews, the offspring of the lost tribes of Israel.[3]

Following Brothers was John Wilson (1788-1870), a phrenologist from Scotland who authored the "first coherent exposition" about the theory of the Anglo-Saxons as the offspring of lost Israel.[4] His tome, Our Israelitish Origin (1840), received greater attention than the works of Brothers. A few decades later, Edward Hine (1825-1891), a former manager of a penny bank in London,

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published a number of pamphlets which exclusively identified the British as true Israelites. Hine's most widely read book, Forty-seven Identifications of the British Nation with the Lost Tribes of Israel (1874), sold over a quarter of a million copies and gave rise to a movement in Great Britain and her empire that attracted two million followers by the turn of the century.[5]

In America, the roots of Identity have been traced to a handful of late nineteenth century Protestant preachers. Reverend Joseph Williams (1826-1882), an Englishman, was probably the first preacher of British Israelism in America. Between 1874 and 1882, he lectured on the movement in Boston and edited two short-lived periodicals, The Trio and The Trumpet of Israel. His contributions to the movement were overshadowed by Rev. Joseph Wild (1834-1908), another clergyman who was born in Britain and immigrated to America. While stationed at the Union Congregational Church of Brooklyn from 1875 to 1880, Wild delivered 130 Sunday night sermons on the tenets of the movement. In 1878, after attending the Prophetic Conference held at the Church of the Holy Trinity in New York City, Wild started publishing books on the theory of Anglo-Israelism. When he resigned from his pastorate at the Union Congregation Church in 1880, George W. Greenwood, a printer in his forties who was a member of Wild's church, emerged as the leader of Brooklyn's Anglo-Israelites. During the early 1880s, Greenwood edited the Heir of the World, a monthly devoted to the study of Anglo-Israelism, and founded the first Identity church in the country. Other Protestant preachers of the late nineteenth century who published books on the movement included Rev. William H. Poole, a Methodist minister from Detroit; Rev. Elihu P. Ingersoll, a Congregational preacher from Kansas; Rev. George O. Barnes, an evangelist from Kentucky; and Rev. Matthew M. Eshelman, a prominent minister of the Church of the Brethren.[6]

During the 1890s, Charles A. L. Totten (1851-1908), a former professor of military science at Yale University, emerged as America's foremost purveyor of Anglo-Israelism. He linked the movement's tenets with Anglo-Saxonism, a secular movement grounded in the notion of the providential destiny of the Anglo-Saxons to rule the world. He also grafted the millenarian theories espoused by Adventists to the tenets of Anglo-Israelism. From 1890 to 1907, Totten published nearly two dozen books and hundreds of articles on Anglo-Israelism, prophecy, biblical chronology, and other related topics. His works inspired dozens of evangelists and religious writers, including Rev. John H.

Allen, a founding minister of the Church of God (Holiness); Charles Parham, the founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement; Victor Morris Tyler, a wealthy industrialist and editor of the Our Race Quarterly; Rev. Reuben H. Sawyer, a clergyman of the Christian Church and recruiter for the Ku Klux Klan; and Alan A. Beauchamp, a publisher and editor of the Watchman of Israel.[7]

By the early 1930s, Anglo-Israelism grew into a nationwide movement under the leadership of Howard B. Rand (1899-1991), a devote Anglo-Israelite evangelist from Massachusetts who founded the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America. In 1930, Rand hosted the first national Anglo-Israelite conference in Detroit and met with William J. Cameron, the former editor of Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent. At that time, Cameron was regarded as an influential figure of the far-right. During the 1920s, while serving as the editor of Ford's newspaper, he published the infamous series of anti-Jewish articles that later became known as The International Jew. In 1933, Rand appointed Cameron as the president of the federation and Rand toured the country. Within a few years, more than fifty branches of the federation were operating in twenty-two states. Many of the local branches thrived under the leadership of energetic organizers, teachers, and preachers. With assistance from Cameron and later from Clarence Warner, an advertising agent for the Packard Motor Company, Rand also published Destiny, a monthly periodical which attracted more than fifteen thousand readers by the late 1940s. As Rand's grip over the movement faded after World War II, some of the federation's local branches turned into independent churches and publishing mills for the movement.[8]

After World War II, Rev. Wesley A. Swift (1913-1970), a fundamentalist preacher, former recruiter for the Ku Klux Klan, and top lieutenant for Gerald L. K. Smith, emerged as the country's "best known advocate" of the Christian Identity movement. In 1946, Swift incorporated the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, an Identity church headquartered in Lancaster, California. Over a twenty-year period, his church grew into a chain of congregations stretching from San Diego through the Central Valley of California to the San Francisco Bay area. Assisting Swift with his ministry were an assortment of "ordained" Identity ministers, including Rev. Connie Lynch, a rabble-rouser for the Klan and recruiter for the National States Rights Party (NSRP); Rev. Oren Potito, a neo-Nazi Identity preacher from St. Petersburg, Florida; and Neuman Britton, an NSPR recruiter from Southern California.[9]

Swift's ascendancy as the country's leading Identity preacher happened during the turmoil associated with the Civil Rights movement. As his name spread among factions of the militant far-right, the government investigated his activities. In 1965, the Attorney General of California released a report on paramilitary activities. The report branded Swift as a "prolific organizer" who was "instrumental in launching" an assortment of far-right groups, including the Anglo-Saxon Congregation of Los Angeles, the California League Against Communism, the Christian Defense League, and the California Rangers. It is significant to note that the report identified the latter group as a paramilitary organization for white supremacists.[10]

Throughout the 1960s, Swift sold tape-recorded copies of his racist and anti-Semitic sermons to thousands of white supremacists across the country. The preacher's message found a receptive audience among Anglo-Israelites, anti-Semites, Klan members, NSRP followers, and neo-Nazis.[11] When he died in 1970, Richard G. Butler, a member of Swift's church in Lancaster who served as the National Director of the Christian Defense League, took over as the leader of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and moved to Hayden Lake, Idaho, where he founded the Aryan Nations.[12]

The contemporary Christian Identity movement consists of a collection of organizations, speakers, churches, preachers, publishing mills, and writers. Since the 1950s, the "theology of Identity has percolated through the ranks of Klansmen, neo-Nazis, the Posse Comitatus and racist Skinheads."[13] Today, Identity groups are "dotted across the map, not confined to any single region of the country."[14] The full extent of the movement is illustrated by a directory of Christian Identity groups published in 1990 by the Identity Study Group of Whiteland, Indiana. The directory lists 255 preachers, churches, writers, and publishing mills operating in 41 states.[15] More recently, the movement has extended its "[reach] beyond traditional white supremacists" by recruiting new members from the ranks of "anti-government extremists" and "the so-called 'Patriot' movement."[16] Indeed, a study conducted by Dees and Corcoran of the Southern Poverty Law Center revealed that "of the 411 militia and 338 Patriot groups that existed in 1994 and 1996, 137 had ties to the racist right--to groups like the Aryan Nations and the Ku Klux Klan."[17] This finding led Dees and Corcoran to predict that "the racist world and the militia movement are likely to become concentric circles."[18] An updated assessment of Patriot and militia groups suggests that "they are increasingly influenced by Christian Identity,"

with some militia groups embracing "Identity wholesale."[19] At present, the Southern Poverty Law Center estimates that there are fifty thousand Identity believers in America.[20]

According to Zeskind, the Identity movement provides "a theological undergirding for racist violence."[21] Since the mid-1980s, adherents of Identity "have been convicted of robberies, bombings, and murders, have engaged in shootouts with police and have plotted assassinations and the overthrow of the government to attain their stated goal: a white Christian nation."[22] Some of the more notorious Identity groups of the 1980s who engaged in violent acts include The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord; The Order; and the Arizona Patriots.[23]

More recent instances of criminal acts perpetrated by Identity believers suggest that they continue to represent a threat to Jews and others branded by the movement as the enemies of Christ. In 1995, a self-proclaimed "Prophet of Yahweh" for the Identity movement, Ray Lampley, and his wife, Cecelia Lampley, were arrested for conspiring to blow up an Anti-Defamation League building in Houston, the headquarters of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, and a collection of abortion clinics and gay bars.[24] In 1998, Eric Robert Rudolph, a fugitive suspect in the bombing of a Birmingham abortion clinic, was linked to the Northpoint Tactical Teams, a paramilitary Christian Identity group located in North Carolina.[25] Last year, two brothers, Benjamin and James Williams, were arrested for allegedly killing a gay couple in Shasta County, California. Investigators uncovered evidence also connecting the suspects with three synagogue arsons in Sacramento. Hate literature found in the brothers' homes indicates that they "'drew heavily on the Identity movement,'" according to one law enforcement official, in "[cobbling] together their own ideology."[26] Less than a month after the arrest of the Williams brothers, Buford O'Neal Furrow, Jr., the former chief of security for the Aryan Nations, was arraigned for killing a Filipino letter carrier and shooting five people at the Jewish Community Center in Granada Hills, California.[27]

Fueling these incidents of violence are the myriad of Christian Identity organizations. During the past fifteen years, the Identity groups which have received the most attention include the Aryan Nations, the Christian Patriots Defense League, the Christian Defense League, and the Posse Comitatus.

The Aryan Nations is a militant neo-Nazi group led by Wesley Swift's protégé, Richard Butler, a former Lockheed Aircraft engineer in his eighties.[28]

Although the influence of Butler's organization has declined since its heyday of the early 1980s, the Aryan Nations experienced a brief revival during the mid-1990s by establishing branches in twenty-two states.[29] Operating from his 20-acre compound near Hayden Lake, Idaho, Butler serves as the pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, the religious arm of the Aryan Nations, and hosts the Aryan World Congress, an annual event which has drawn up to three hundred Christian Identity believers, Klan members, neo-Nazis, and racist Skinheads. Butler also conducts a prison ministry and publishes three periodicals: Aryan Nations Newsletter, Calling Our Nation, and The Way.[30] In addition, he maintains a Web site featuring Swift's anti-Semitic sermons and offering an extensive list of racist and anti-Semitic literature for sale.[31]

The leader of the Christian Patriots Defense League (CPDL) is John R. Harrell, an elderly millionaire who lives in a fourteen thousand square foot mansion on a fifty-five acre estate near Louisville, Illinois. The CPDL earned its reputation for engaging in paramilitary training. During the early 1980s, Harrell hosted a number of "Freedom Festivals" on his estate in Illinois and on his 232-acre base near Licking, Missouri. Some of his festivals drew up to one thousand extremists and featured classes in survival skills, combat tactics, and weapons usage. At that time, Harrell also led a private militia known as the Citizens Emergency Defense System. During the 1990s, he shifted most of his attention to editing the Paul Revere Club Newsletter, a Christian Identity periodical, and raising money for the movement.[32]

The Christian Defense League (CDL) is directed by James K. Warner of Metairie, Louisiana. Now in his early sixties, Warner's career with the fringe of the radical right dates from the early 1960s when he served as an officer in the late George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party (ANP). After bolting from the ANP, he served as an associate editor of the Thunderbolt, the official organ of the racist National States Rights Party. In 1966, Warner moved to Los Angeles, where he operated the Sons of Liberty, a mail-order bookstore specializing in anti-Jewish and racist literature.[33] Five years later, he founded the New Christian Crusade Church and launched the Christian Vanguard, an anti-Semitic periodical.[34] At that time, Warner started preaching ideas that closely matched the anti-Jewish tenets of Identity as taught by Wesley Swift. His ministry caught the attention of some of Swift's followers in Los Angeles and they asked him to "carry on" the late preacher's ministry by publishing Swift's sermons.[35] In 1976, Warner moved to Louisiana and worked with

David Duke's faction of the Ku Klux Klan. He then organized the CDL as "the action arm" of his church and started editing the CDL Report, another anti-Semitic periodical.[36] In the meantime, Warner continued operating the Sons of Liberty as the publishing arm of his church. The Sons of Liberty currently features a large collection of Swift's sermons and thousands of titles by other far-right writers.[37] Recently, Warner added a Web site to his enterprises for expanding his influence over the Identity movement.[38]

According to the Anti-Defamation League, the Posse Comitatus "is an Identity organization composed of loosely affiliated bands of armed vigilantes and survivalists."[39] During the Posse's heyday of the 1980s, an investigation conducted by the FBI uncovered nearly eighty chapters of the Posse operating in twenty-three states.[40] In addition to spreading the doctrines of Identity, the leaders of the Posse advocate power at the county level for protecting the "security and purity of the white race" and promulgate "extremist views of law and order," including the "belief in the power of the gun and what they describe as devotion to God." Members of the Posse also subscribe to conspiracy theories, especially the so-called Jewish plot to enslave the white race through "'the corrupt Jew-owned Federal Reserve.'"[41]

In addition to the better-known Christian Identity organizations, about one hundred Identity groups operate churches. Many of these congregations use names which provide them with a fundamentalist cover. Some of these churches include the American Bible Church, Basic Bible Church of America, Church of the Holy Word, Grace Fellowship Tabernacle, House of the Good Shepherd, Open Bible Tabernacle, Restoration Bible Church, and Solid Rock Bible Church.[42] Although most of these congregations are small in terms of members, many of them distribute literature and some operate Web sites.

Pastoring one of the more successful Identity churches is Dan Gayman, a former high school principal in his sixties.[43] He leads the Church of Israel, a two hundred member congregation located outside of Schell City, Missouri.[44] Gayman's rise to fame within Identity circles dates from the early 1970s when he founded his church, then known as the Church of Our Christian Heritage, and became affiliated with the Louisiana-based National Emancipation of Our White Seed, an Identity outfit led by Buddy Tucker. Gayman helped Tucker publish The Battle Axe News, an anti-Jewish tabloid. Around the same time, he started appearing as a speaker at Identity conferences. His travels around

the country brought him into contact with some of the luminaries of Identity such as Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations.[45]

Since the mid-1980s, Gayman has curtailed his public connections with the violent fringe of the Identity movement. He now focuses his efforts on pastoring his local congregation; editing two periodicals, The Vision and The Watchman; hosting feasts for visitors at his church; and distributing Identity literature, including more than two thousand cassette tapes of his sermons.[46] In 1995, the preacher launched "a new outreach ministry" called "the Hunter Ministry" for recruiting "the lost sheep of the House of Israel" in the Western part of the country.[47] He held meetings in Colorado, Wyoming, Washington, Idaho, Oregon, California, and Texas. During the next two years, Gayman and his associate pastors of the Church of Israel returned to these Western states for follow-up meetings.[48] This crusade for recruiting new followers has been recently supplanted by the posting of a Web site for the Church of Israel.[49]

As one of the more successful preachers of Christian Identity, Gayman has authored dozens of books and tracts. A few of his titles include The Holy Book, the Book of Adam's Race; Racial Purity in the Living Church; Sodomy, the Curse of a Wicked Generation; and Tracing Our Ancestors.[50] Many of his works are not only sold by his church, but also by other Identity groups.[51] His most widely read book, The Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15, which is the focus of this essay, advocates the anti-Semitic seedline doctrine.

Mystical Anti-Semitism and the Seedline Doctrine

"Mystical anti-Semitism," according to Carmichael, "has nothing to do with the Jews" themselves.[52] Rather it is a particular form of anti-Semitism which bestows upon the Jews a "special potency by a mystical dimension that identifies [them] with a concept beyond themselves."[53] This potency is quite distinct from the "banal . . . slurs" which stereotype the Jews as "sly, deceitful, pushy, arrogant, sycophantic, stingy, [or] ostentatious."[54] Indeed, it takes on a "cosmic" dimension by vilifying the Jews as "'Christ-killers,' 'the enemies of God,' 'devils,' 'enemies of the human race.'"[55] In other words, Jewish people are transmuted into something "utterly, eerily, and inhumanly Evil."[56]

Within Christian Identity, anti-Semitism emerged as a cardinal theme of the movement during the 1930s and 1940s. At that time, Howard B. Rand and his cohorts branded the Jews as fomenters of Communism and killers of Christ.[57] After World War II, Rand's animosity toward the Jews culminated

with his declaration that "they will be numbered for the sword and will bow down to the slaughter."[58]

Wesley A. Swift went one step further in providing Identity believers with a reason to hate Jews. In fact, his reason went beyond the mystical anti-Semitism contained in Rand's description of the Jews as the killers of Christ. Swift pioneered a particularly insidious form of mystical anti-Semitism: the seedline doctrine. This doctrine, according to Barkun, is "the most distinctive doctrine associated with Christian Identity" and is anchored in "the belief that Jews are the direct biological offspring of the Devil."[59] Central to this belief is the identification of Cain as the son of Satan.

Captain Russell Kelso Carter (1849-1928), a prominent Holiness writer and staunch supporter of Charles Totten's millenarian theories, was the first Anglo-Israelite in America who speculated that Cain was the literal son of the Devil.[60] In his work, The Tree of Knowledge (1894), Carter pondered whether Cain might be "the actual son of Satan."[61] In developing this idea, he claimed that Eve's seduction by Satan in the Garden of Eden was most likely caused by "the tremendous pull of the sexual appetite, aroused by the excited state of the woman. . . ."[62] Carter also provided a motive for Satan's seduction of Eve: the Devil wanted "to destroy the race" that God created by "[poisoning] the seed at its fountainhead."[63]

Carter's description of the fall of Eve stopped short of linking Cain with the Jews. In this regard, his theory was similar to the "'two seed-in-the-spirit predestination' doctrine" developed by Daniel Parker (1781-1844), a Primitive Baptist evangelist.[64] In 1826, while serving as a state senator in Illinois and preaching in Crawford County, Parker published View of the Two Seeds, a pamphlet which identified Genesis 3;15 as the key for interpreting the Bible and explaining the origin of "the two seeds, with . . . enmity between them," on the earth.[65] Parker's two-seed doctrine equated "the Serpent's seed" with "the non-elect," those "brought into the world as the product of sin, by way of a curse on the woman, who, by reason of sin, was made susceptible of the seed of the Serpent."[66] Although the non-elect in Parker's theory were not brought into the world through a sexual union between Satan and the woman, Parker specified that they were "enemies to God, from the nature of their father the Devil, pursing his lusts with enmity against the Elect seed" of Christ through Adam.[67]

William M. Branhan (1909-1965), an independent Pentecostal preacher, taught a version of the "serpent's seed" doctrine which specified that Eve had sexual relations with the serpent.[69] However, Branhan's theory differentiated between the serpent and the Devil. In particular, he regarded the serpent as a "humanoid, prereptilian" creature "through which Satan's seed passed."[69] As a result of the serpent's physical seduction of Eve, Branhan implied that there was an evil seedline. This seedline began with the birth of Cain. The progeny of Cain, according to the preacher, became dangerous intellectuals who lived on the earth until the flood. After the flood, the evil seedline emerged again in such figures as "Ham, Ahab, and Judas Iscariot."[70]

The integration of the seedline doctrine into the contemporary Identity movement probably began with Philip E. J. Monson, the leader of the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America in California during the early 1930s.[71] In 1928, Monson published Satan's Seat: The Enemy of Our Race. He subsequently re-issued the work in 1936, and published an enlarged edition a few years later.[72] Monson's work, according to Barkun, espoused "the two-seedline position, one ('the Satan line') stemming from Cain, and the other ('the God line') from Abel."[73] However, Barkun noted that Monson linked the "'Satan line'" with the activities of the Catholic Church and the pope, the "'Prime Minister of the Devil,'" rather than the Jews.[74]

While Monson did not link the seed of Satan with the Jews, one of his students, Wesley A. Swift, reformulated the doctrine by depicting the Jews as the children of Satan through Cain. During the late 1930s, Swift attended the Kingdom Bible College in Los Angeles, an Anglo-Israelite Bible school closely associated with Monson's Covenant Evangelistic Association.[75] Although it is impossible to say when Swift started preaching his rendition of the seedline doctrine, it is clear that he was one of the first Christian Identity preachers in the country who promulgated the theory as a centerpiece of Identity theology. Almost all of his sermons dating from the early 1960s rely on the doctrine for vilifying the Jews.

In his sermons, Swift developed two explanations for the origins of the Jews, both of which biologically linked the Jews with Satan. The first part of Swift's seedline doctrine rested on pre-Adamic theory, the notion that "each race had a distinct and different origin upon the face of the earth, as to time and as to the experiences by which they . . . came into existence, all of them a part of Divine creation"[76] Rewriting the story of Genesis, Swift claimed that

shortly after "God created the heavens and earth," He "made or created" the "first creation of man" from "substances round about."[77] This race prospered and built cities.[78] In the meantime, Lucifer and his "race of warriors, dark and curly headed," fled to the earth in their "great fleet of space ships" during the "war in heaven" against Michael the Archangel.[79] Marooned on the earth, Lucifer and his "axmen and swordsmen" seduced God's first creation and "in violation of Divine law they started to mutate species and mix races."[80] This "Luciferian upheaval" resulted in "the catastrophe that wiped out" nearly all of God's "first creation" during the era of the "void," described in the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis.[81]

Swift's fantastic story of creation continued with the "sixth day," when "God created [another] man, male and female created He them."[82] This race, like the first, "multiplied and extended their dominion over the earth in that era," but "succumbed to the Luciferian fallen archangel's dominion."[83] Thus, on seventh day, while God "rested from His work," He observed that "there [was] no Adamite" to "till the ground," only "nomads" and "old races" eking out a "nomadic existence."[84] Consequently, God "brought forth issue," Adam, and placed him in the Garden of Eden.[85] God also "separated out of Adam the female portion" and "produced" Eve.[86] According to Swift, this final creation established not only the "beginning of the Adamic race," but also the placing of God's "household [on] the earth."[87] In addition, the creation of Adam and Eve represented God's plan "to bring [the] whole world back under law and under righteousness, overthrow the darkness, and transfer the Kingdom of heaven to earth."[88]

The next critical story Swift adapted from Genesis concerned the fall of Adam and Eve. In setting up this story, Swift claimed that when God placed "Adam in the garden," He told his special creation that "thou mayest eat of the garden" except for "the tree that has knowledge of good and evil" because "this is a racial tree."[89] In explaining this command, Swift asserted that "God . . . made it clear to Adam that the people of earth were already contaminated and corrupted by the Luciferian program of mongrelization and mutation, and if he sexually cohabited with any of them, he would also die."[90] Unaware of God's admonition against having "nothing to do with these polluted racial streams," Eve fell prey to Lucifer's seduction, had "sexual intercourse" with "the Devil," and gave birth to Cain, "the progeny of the wicked one."[91]

Thus, according to Swift's seedline theory, there were two explanations for the origins of the Jews. Some Jews were the children of Satan because of "the violation of Divine law by Lucifer and his intermingling of nefarious forces with the [pre-Adamic] races."[92] This "interbreeding with the peoples of earth . . . produced . . . black Jews, yellow Jews, red Jews, [and] brown Jews."[93] Other Jews were the spawn of Satan through Cain, "the first white Jew!"[94]

Swift's rendition of the seedline doctrine provided his followers with "good reasons" to hate the Jews. He unabashedly preached that "there are no more crooked, evil, vicious people on the face of the earth" than the Jews.[95] As the evil "offspring of Lucifer," they were "a devil . . . species," genetically programmed with "only the capacities which their father could bestow upon his progeny."[96] This explained why the "Jews tell a lot of lies" and "have no concept of truth."[97] By quoting the words of Jesus, "'Ye are of your father, the devil, and his works ye will do,'" Swift intensified his followers' hatred of the Jews.[98] Indeed, he relied on this passage to verify his assertions that the Jews were the "'children of the devil'" and "'the tares'" who would "be 'gathered up and burned in the fire . . . [at] the end of this age.'"[99]

Swift was not alone in preaching the seedline doctrine. In fact, many of his contemporaries subscribed to the doctrine. Conrad Gaard, the pastor of the Christian Chapel Church in Tacoma, Washington, included the doctrine in his major work, Spotlight on the Great Conspiracy.[100] Bertrand Comparet, who was a close associate of Swift and the founder of an Identity outfit known as Your Heritage, championed the doctrine in two of his published sermons, What Happened to Cain? and The Cain-Satanic Seed Line, and in his book, Gospel of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.[101] William P. Gale, another associate of Swift and leader of the Posse Comitatus, also included the doctrine in his booklet, The Faith of Our Fathers.[102] Nord W. Davis, Jr., the recently deceased leader of the Northpoint Tactical Teams, espoused the doctrine in his work, Star Wars.[103] Finally, Richard G. Butler of the Aryan Nations emphasizes the seedline doctrine in his organization's statement of beliefs.[104]

An Overview of Narrative Criticism

The methodology used in this essay for analyzing Gayman's Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15 is that of narrative criticism. Much research has relied on this method of criticism.[105] This method of criticism has its roots in the work of MacIntyre, who viewed humankind as "essentially a story-telling animal."[106] This line of theory concerning the essential nature of human communication

was developed in earnest by Fisher. He argued that the dominant paradigm for human interaction, the "rational world paradigm," was defunct and failed to address all aspects of human communication.[107] Thus, in Fisher's seminal work, Human Communication as Narrative: Toward a Philosophy of Reason, Value, and Action, he proposed that human communication takes the form of a narrative or story that can be examined and critically analyzed.[108]

Foss describes some of the functions of narrative criticism. She notes that the critic can use the method for "discovering how the construction of a particular narrative directs the interpretation of a situation."[109] This form of narrative criticism elucidates how narrative "functions as an argument" and creates a particular view of the world.[110] Narrative criticism can also be used to "discover the . . . likely effects of particular narratives on audiences."[111] In addition, Foss specifies that the method is useful for "[providing] clues" about a culture's "motivations for actions."[112] These functions of narrative criticism will be applied to the artifact examined in this study.

Foss discusses some specific areas to describe and evaluate when using the method for examining an artifact. She notes that the critic can investigate the setting of the narrative, the characters in the narrative, the narrator's role in the story, the events contained in the story, temporal relations associated with the events, causal relationships developed in the narrative, the audience addressed in the story, and the themes embedded in the story.[113] Foss further explains that the critic must isolate the features of the narrative that are most instructive in answering the research questions.[114]

A Narrative Analysis of Dan Gayman's Artifact

The first edition of Dan Gayman's The Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15 was published in 1977.[115] This edition went through four printings, with thirty-five thousand copies sold.[116] In 1994, Gayman released a revised edition of his book. Numbering more than four hundred pages, this work offers the most exhaustive discussion of the seedline doctrine yet produced by a Christian Identity preacher.

Gayman's Two Seeds details the biblical history of the white race and its relation to other races through extended storytelling. This narrative shall be examined by focusing on three critical issues: setting, character, and audience. Examining these areas within the complex web of Gayman's story enables one to answer the research questions posed for this study.

Settings

Gayman's narrative relies on various settings to frame the message and descriptions regarding characters and actions. One of the initial settings in his work is the Garden of Eden. Consonant with Judeo-Christian interpretation, this is a place of beauty, splendor, and perfection. It is in Eden that God placed the "Tree of Life" as a symbol of "Jesus Christ and His perfect Law Word."[117] This tree also conferred immortality upon Adam "so long as [he] walked in obedience to this law."[118] The other important feature of Eden is the "Law of Sin and Death Tree."[119] This "tree symbolized death, which would come by sin when Adam disobeyed God and ate of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil."[120] Gayman thus equates obedience to God in this setting as partaking of the Tree of Life; disobeying God, however, is symbolized by partaking of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Another setting that holds particular importance for Gayman's story is the "Land of Promise."[121] This area is described as "the geo-political center of the earth" and "embraces most of the major and minor countries of the entire Middle East."[122] The Land of Promise is also a sacred place. It has been fated as "the headquarters for the coming world Kingdom of Jesus Christ" and the place where the Israelites shall live as citizens.[123] Modern theology, according to Gayman, has wrongly "transferred [this land] to heaven."[124] As a result, the literal promise of Christ returning to rule over the earth has been ignored in favor of a fanciful spiritual setting in heaven. Gayman insists that this flies in the face of Scripture.[125]

"History" itself is often used as a locus for Gayman's narrative. It is in this setting that the "seed of the serpent" marches through and perpetually causes conflict with the "seed of the woman."[126] This setting is so vast and expansive that Gayman frequently refers back to it to frame the general battle between the two seedlines of Genesis. The nations that comprise this history often change, but the serpent seedline has lived as "fugitives and vagabonds throughout their history."[127] Thus, when the conflict in Gayman's narrative is not localized to a specific region, the total scope of all historical processes can be used to illustrate the "eternal" battle between the two seeds of Genesis.

Related to the development of history from Eden to the Promised Land is modern America. This setting enshrines the present concerns of Gayman in that this is where living Christians find their opponents and challenges to salvation. Modern America as a setting is particularly violent and wicked, as Gayman points out:

> The evidence of Satan and his minions is clearly evidence in the world. . . . Men and nations are becoming increasingly wicked. The great falling away that was to come before the return of Jesus Christ in power and great glory is upon us. . . . Since 1973, some thirty million children have been murdered in the abortion mills within the boundaries of the United States of America! More than one million people are warehoused in the prisons of America. Violent crimes of murder, rape, armed robbery, and assault proliferate beyond all human calculations. . . .[128]

This time and place poses other challenges to the Christian way of life, with "moral perversion, including adultery, fornication, and sodomy . . . [rising] to new heights."[129] In short, America is the new battleground for Satan against the forces of God.[130]

Characters

The main protagonist in Gayman's narrative is that of "Adam's seed." His seed is one of the "two, distinct seedlines" mentioned in Genesis 3:15.[131] Adam's seed, the offspring of Eve and his consummation, include Abel, Seth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the lineage of the "white race" in general through tribes of Israel. Indeed, Gayman argues that "Biblical Israel has been identified with the family of nations making up the Anglo-Saxon nations."[132] Gayman also makes it clear that the term "Israelites" does not refer to the Jews; rather he offers "proof" that the "Anglo, Saxon, Celtic, Germanic, Scandinavian, and kindred people of the earth" are the true descendants of the "chosen people" in the Bible.[133] His proof of the identity of the Anglo-Saxons as the Israelites consists of such "facts" as the size and power of the Anglo-Saxon community of nations, Queen Elizabeth's lineage from David, the Anglo-Saxon's affinity for Christianity, and other marks of identification typically offered by Identity preachers.[134]

Gayman characterizes the Anglo-Saxon people in mostly mystical ways. Initially, this race is traced back to God's special creation, Adam and Eve. This couple is described as being "without sin nature. . . . Both were created with a bias toward good and were given freedom of will."[135] Moreover, God's holy law, Gayman asserts, was "written" on Adam's consciousness as a seemingly pre-programmed command.[136] Thus, the mystical status of the Anglo-Saxon race essentially derives from these characteristics. Of course, Eve's copulation with Satan and Adam's sexual union with her (after she had been "defiled")

caused God to expel them from the garden and change their mystical status. As Gayman indicates, "They fell ethically from their exalted state of glory and immortality. Before sin they lived in a glorified body. After, however, they lived in a body of corruption."[137] The progenitors of the Anglo-Saxons, Adam and Eve, were accordingly reduced from the state of mystical perfection to the current corruptible nature that Gayman finds in the modern Christian. This essence of perfection, however, still is privileged with mystical grandeur. Indeed, Gayman claims that Christians have an innate drive to worship God in their "genes" and that "the love of God's divine law is written into the hearts and minds of Christian Israelites."[138] Here the mystical, essential push toward perfection is evident in the very makeup of the Anglo-Saxon race. Gayman culminates the mystical description of this main character by indicating, "The unconditional election of Israel as the people of redemption and salvation is a scriptural landmark of tremendous importance."[139] It is this landmark that allows Gayman to contrast the seed of Adam with the "diabolical" shadow of the serpent's seed.

The serpent's seed is described as the lineage springing from Satan and Eve's child, Cain, which Gayman traces through the Khazars, Mongols, and Huns up to the modern Jews.[140] The Jews (the serpent's seed) are described in two ways: physically and mystically. Physically, the Jews carry Cain's curse, being forced to live in cities and often wander.[141] Additionally, Gayman says that Jews bear the trappings of one of their forefathers, Canaan, and are found occupying the positions of merchants, bankers, and traders. They live off the work and success of others and cannot farm the earth.[142] Moreover, Gayman describes this character, the serpent's seed, as "the power behind the throne of government around the world, holding [the] power of life and death through expansion and contraction of money supply of the world. . . . Almost without exception, the Serpent Seed [specialize] in the monopoly of money, finance, and trade."[143] Ultimately, the identity between modern Jews and the serpent seed is made explicit by Gayman: "Political Zionism and religious Judaism are the twin pillars that undergird the world view of the Serpent Seed."[144] This character is positioned so as to be the direct opposite of the main character, the seed of Adam.

Gayman further castigates the wicked seed of Satan, the Jews, through a mystical description of their attributes. As opposed to the incidental, physical traits that are simply due to historical location, this narrative posits essential

characteristics that carry mystical connotations concerning the seed of Satan. Early in the narrative, Gayman points out: "The children of Satan will fulfill the lusts of their father. An evil tree can bear no fruit. They will continue to perpetuate their crimes against God and His children until the return of Jesus Christ."[145] Thus, the Jews in Gayman's narrative are constructed as being essentially evil, perdetermined in their nature to a particular disposition both in action and outlook. The Jews "think differently, look differently, and act differently than [Adam's seed] because they are from a different father"[146]; this "father is none other than Satan."[147] The mystical dimension of these horrific descriptions arises from the deterministic aspect in portraying the essence of this race (inclusive of all its past, present, and future members). Gayman uses the terminology of current scientific idiom for establishing his claim. Indeed, he writes, "Inherent within [the serpent seed's] genes would be all the characteristics of Lucifer, the Old serpent who is the Devil."[148] Reinforcing the point, Gayman remarks, "The seed of the Serpent cannot hide their genetic bank of Satanic traits."[149] The narrative in this text portrays the Jews as always being determined to act and think in a similar evil way and Gayman employs the mechanism of modern genetics to explain how this essentialism is actualized.

Audience

Gayman's narrative posits a special relationship between the text and the audience. Initially, the audience is drawn into the story by its exigence. In fact, Gayman argues that Genesis 3:15 is the cornerstone of the Bible. He tells the reader, "If we fail to establish a proper benchmark with Genesis three, we really have no foundation upon which to understand the remainder of the Bible."[150] Gayman's audience is also pulled into this text with the threat that "Failure to rightly divide Scripture and look into the Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15 has had profound consequences upon the religious development of this generation."[151] This threat, Gayman asserts, is costly, for already "people are perishing for want of Bible truth . . . and multitudes of them are leaving the institutional church in spiritual boredom and apathy."[152] Thus, the spiritual survival of the audience is portrayed as tied to the message contained in the narrative. Further inclusion of the audience is made through Gayman's use of personal pronouns; "you" want the truth, this is "your" Bible, "you" who understand the correct interpretation of the Bible, and it is us who must open "our" eyes to the truth.[153] Additionally, the audience is called to acknowledge

the existence of the serpent seed today and act to halt the progress of this evil toward consuming the Christian world.[154]

As if these inclusive strategies are not sufficient, Gayman continues to include the audience through fear appeals. The audience is implored not to be "biblically illiterate," which is operationalized by Gayman as those who do not believe the literal existence of two seed lines.[155] The denial of Gayman's interpretation is even preempted in this narrative when he notes that "Satan will employ all the powers of spiritual darkness to keep this truth [of the two seeds of Genesis 3:15] from being told."[156] As a result, audience disbelief in or hostility to Gayman's message is described as being the influence of the power of the serpent seed that is being denied. Intensifying his point, the audience is admonished, "Those who deny the literal and physical offspring of Satan will pay a high price for such evasion of truth."[157] This denial further condemns unbelievers because they are "identifying them [the seed of the serpent] as the children of God."[158] Thus, the audience is included in the impact implied within this message; they should be concerned about how this interpretation affects their lives.

The audience is also included within the scope of the narrative in that they are assumed to be of the Anglo-Saxon race, and hence Israel. This point, like Gayman's analysis of Genesis 3:15, is emphasized in the narrative when the reader is told: "We shall never understand our Bible unless we search for Abraham's children and establish their positive identification."[159] While the blessings of the Bible apply to the audience as members of this race, the sins of Adam also hang heavily around the audience's neck. Indeed, Gayman argues that "all of us were there in the loins of Adam, willing him to sin."[160] Thus, the audience is culpable--they must be "saved by faith in Jesus Christ, come to repentance, confess every sin, be baptized, and seek to walk in obedience to God's law."[161] While the audience is labeled as guilty in regard to Adam's sin, the are also capable of action and salvation.[162] Gayman illustrates these types of actions by telling his audience to move away from areas with high Jewish (serpent seed) populations, use home schooling for children, consume only Christian television programming, shun financial dealings with the serpent seed, avoid Jewish doctors, oppose cooperation with members of the Jewish faith, and ferret out serpent influences in one's church.[163] Although Gayman issues weak warnings against harming the serpent seed, he does distinguish between "private enemies," whom the audience is told to love, and "public

enemies," whom God does not command one to love.[164] In fact, he explicitly states, "The Serpent Seed is the public enemy."[165] Consequently, the audience is integrally involved in this story through inclusive language and provided with specific actions to take for protecting themselves from the serpent seed.

Assessment of Gayman's Rhetoric and the Seedline Doctrine

With the preceding analysis complete, responses to the two research questions will be advanced. The first research question asked how Gayman's use of narrative develops mystical anti-Semitism for creating an ideology of division and vilification. Gayman's narrative creates division by defining the identity of Anglo-Saxon Christians in opposition to the mystical nature of the Jewish people and through appeals to solidarity within his message. In these ways, Gayman divides the white race from the Jews and establishes grounds for ideological rejection based upon this division.

Gayman's narrative invites his audience to construct their identity in opposition to the evil character of the serpent seed (the Jews). Rojo, in her analysis of the vilification of Saddam Hussein during the Persian Gulf War, offers insight relevant to the discussion of Gayman's narrative. She contends that the rhetorical process of "exclusion is carried out on two axes," through "dividing" and "rejecting."[166] Certainly, Gayman's rendition of the seedline doctrine divides white Christians from Jews and rejects the latter through the demonic construction of the Jews as the seed of Satan. Rojo also explains that one's "identity is relative, since it is constructed by means of contrasts with an external otherness."[167] In other words, the qualities one perceives about self are easily defined by comparison to what one is not; if those qualities are absent in the "external other," one's opposition to this malignant force further reifies one's possession of the desired qualities. Gayman does exactly this in his narrative. By offering a blatantly evil picture of the Jews, his readers are offered the chance to construct their identity as those opposed to evil and sin. Thus, they are enabled to identify themselves and their race with the "good."

Gayman also follows the mystical model described by Carmichael in his attribution of evil characteristics to the Jews. In this narrative, the Jews think, behave, and act like the Devil, their father. They are depicted as wicked and sinful, impervious to reform or salvation. Indeed, Gayman argues, "They are eternally flawed, being the physical offspring of Satan in his fallen state."[168] The nature of the Jews is that of Satan himself, eternally fixed and mystically unalterable. Contrasted with Gayman's mystical demonization of the Jews is

his mystical deification of the white race--the modern Israelites. In his story, the "Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Scandinavian people of the western world" are the "recipients of divine blessing," the "heirs of the covenant," the "subjects of Biblical history," the "focus of the prophets," the "possessors of the Biblical guarantees," the "seed upon whom the blessings of God have fallen," and the "people with immunity from destruction."[169] The settings of Gayman's story likewise emphasize the mystical attributes of the white race. After all, these are the people who occupied the blessed locale of Eden, that fight God's holy battle in the corrupt modern world, and that are the future citizens of Christ's kingdom in the Land of Promise. Thus, in this narrative, Gayman juxtaposes the cursed Jews with the holy people of the white race; God blesses, supports, and protects the latter in their battle with the former.

Gayman's narrative continues the new form of mystical anti-Semitism pioneered by Wesley Swift: the biological mechanism linking the Jews with Satan. Like Swift, Gayman transforms the Jews into the literal children of the Devil through modern biological parlance with references to genetic theory. Early in his story, he tells the reader: "The nature of the seed of the serpent are as fixed as the skin of a modern Ethiopian or the spots of a leopard. What is genetically marked cannot and will be changed."[170] Thus, God's curse upon the Jews comes in the form of genetic determinants; they are predetermined to do evil, much like the leopard is programmed to stalk and kill it prey. This genetic determinism further constructs Anglo-Saxon identity in that it allows for a paternalistic rendering of historicity. In this story, the reader is asked to ponder the identity of the fathers of the two seed lines. For the Israelites, it is Adam. For the Jews, it is Satan himself. This construction impels the reader to identify with the good seed line of the father of the white race and to stand in ideological opposition to the evil seed line of the Jews, the spawn of Satan. As Gayman indicates, "Any attempt to evangelize the seed of the serpent is a hopeless and fruitless effort."[171] The mystical and genetic nature of the Jews is eternal and unchanging; the Israelite reader is well advised by Gayman's story to recognize this fact and act accordingly.

Gayman couches this message in narrative terms that seem reassuring to his audience. He intensifies the inclusive elements of his narrative with linguistic appeals to solidarity; he uses words such as "you" (the reader) and "we" (the Israelites) to pull the audience into his message and make them a part of his story. The setting of modern America in the narrative emphasizes

the need for the audience to join the battle to save Christians against the evil plots of the Jews. Gayman seeks solidarity among his audience of Israelites to save their spiritual lives and win back their country. He includes them in the battle with such phrases as "Above all, let us, the true Israel of God, . . . return to the standard of holy law to heal our hearts, our minds, and our land."[172] In an effort to assure his readers of the narrative that they will survive the battle if they unite against the evil consuming this world, Gayman writes: "This is a difficult time in history. We are moving into a time of tribulation which the Bible calls the time of Jacob's trouble. . . . Those who have built their lives on Jesus Christ and His Word will endure this time of great testing."[173] Thus, in Gayman's story, the appeals for solidarity result in the construction of "true Israel" as the white race. This race is contrasted with the external otherness of the evil Jews, those people who are mystically and genetically determined to oppose God and Jesus Christ.

The second research question asked whether Gayman's story provides motives for violence. The answer to this inquiry is more challenging in that Gayman's book includes some warnings against audience violence. In fact, he explicitly states: "Beware of giving any credence to those who wish to make any kind of war against the Serpent Seed. Do not take part in any activity that might endanger the well being of the Serpent Seed."[174] However, it is critical to note that these admonitions to Identity believers only appear in the revised edition of his book. The first four printings of Gayman's earlier edition of the Two Seeds did not include warnings about engaging in violent acts. As noted earlier, Gayman distributed thirty-five thousand copies of the first edition of his book before he released the revised edition in 1994.

While the revised edition of Gayman's work warns against engaging in violence, motives for audience-initiated violence are present in this edition in an implicit way, lying in wait for pernicious audience reconstruction. This foundation for violence is laid through the incorporation of Old Testament stories involving the Israelites and their enemies of the serpent seed. Indeed, Gayman notes that God "expressly told" the "children of Israel" how to deal with the "various Canaanite tribes" who supposedly descended from Cain.[175] Quoting passages from Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Numbers, he recounts that God commanded the Israelites to "'destroy their alters,'" "'burn their graven images with fire,'" "'cut down their groves,'" "'smite them and utterly destroy them,'" and "'shew [no] mercy unto them.'"[176] He also reminds his audience,

"The Seed of the Serpent [became] pricks in the eyes and thorns in the sides of the Seed of the Woman" when "the armies of Israel" failed to obliterate "the Serpent Seed from the land."[177] The failure of the Israelites to "completely [rout]" the Canaanites and the "mingling of the Serpent Seed among the Seed of the Woman" caused "the anger of [God] to wax hot against His people."[178] Another story from the Old Testament which Gayman retells involves "the dispersion of the Serpent Seed" among the Israelites as described in Jeremiah 24.[179] In this chapter, Jeremiah discusses "the two baskets of figs," the "'good figs' of the House of Judah" and "the evil figs."[180] According to Gayman, "the evil figs" included "King Zedekiah, his princes, and the residue of Jerusalem" who mingled with "the Serpent Seed."[181] Jeremiah cursed "the bad figs" and pronounced God's judgment against them: "'And I will send the sword . . . among them, till they be consumed from off the land. . . .'"[182] By citing these stories from the Old Testament, Gayman's narrative offers Identity believers a rationalization for violent behavior.

Stories from the New Testament which appear in Gayman's narrative also contain latent motives for violence. Citing Matthew 3:12, Gayman notes, "John the Baptist makes it clear that at the end of history" God "'will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.'"[183] Gayman tells his readers that this story anticipates "the ultimate end and damnation of the Serpent's Seed."[184] Latent violence surfaces again when Gayman refers his readers to "the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares in Matthew 13:24-30."[185] Here, the reader learns about "the time of the harvest" when "the tares will be gathered first, bundled, and then burned."[186] In Gayman's earlier edition of the Two Seeds, the passage from Matthew 3 is introduced with the following words: "You are an armed Christian, armed with the knowledge that will one day set White Christian Israel free, and will crush the head of the Serpent Race, and when the Head is crushed, the body of that snake, that race will die!"[187] He also explains in this edition that "the tares of Matthew Ch. 13 are the same wicked seedline as the chaff in Matthew 3:12. . . ."[188] Thus, Gayman himself offered an interpretation of these two passages which linked them together and explicitly predicted that "armed" Christians would "crush the head of the Serpent Race." Although the latest edition of the Two Seeds avoids telling Christian Identity believers that they will take this action, the chance exists for the reader to reconstruct these passages in a more active, violent manner like Gayman did in the first edition of his book.

Another way that motives toward violence are enabled is by Gayman's dichotomy of "private enemies" and "public enemies."[189] Gayman illustrates this distinction in relation to the Jews by indicating, "The Serpent Seed is the public enemy. He is not to be confused with your private enemy. You are to love your private enemy. . . . However, nowhere in Scripture does God tell you to love the public enemy!"[190] Thus, the audience is led to a confusing dichotomy that is not well-developed; the public enemy is not really explained, just described as the enemy that God will "take care of."[191] This lack of clarity and explanation could contribute to an interpretation among violence-prone Christian Identity believers that they have a mandate for violence against the Jews. Add to this Gayman's own opaque warning, "This is not a book about hate, but about truth,"[192] and the chances of audience reconstruction of this narrative in terms of violence increases in probability. The central message of Gayman's work is that of the aforementioned division of the "good" Israelites from the "satanic, evil" seed of the serpent (the Jews). Thus, while Gayman maintains this book is not about hate, but about truth, one can postulate that "truth" and "hate" in this context do not seem like mutually exclusive sides of a true dichotomy. The intent behind this book still remains even though it is said not to be about "hate." The "truth" it seems to convey is equivalent to what most critics of rhetoric would describe as hate-division, rejection, threats of divine retribution, and religious castigation directed toward the Jews based on their supposed vileness as the genetic offspring of Satan.

Ultimately, Gayman's The Two Seeds of Genesis 3:15 is a frightening narrative. Through the seedline doctrine, Gayman transforms the Jews into a potent force by mystically and genetically linking them with Satan. His use of storytelling creates an ideology and division and vilification. In addition, his narrative provides motives for violence despite his warnings about warring against the seed of the serpent.

The seedline doctrine represents an attempt by Identity preachers like Dan Gayman to led their followers into battle against the Jews. While some preachers of this racist religion reject the seedline doctrine, they use similar narrative strategies which develop mystical anti-Semitism as the centerpiece of the movement. One such Christian Identity preacher is Peter J. Peters, the pastor of the LaPorte, Colorado, Church of Christ and director of Scriptures for America. In lieu of the seedline doctrine, he preaches a counter narrative to malign the Jews as the descendants of Edom, "a forbidden and cursed people"

who "were always the enemies of the Israelites."[193] Echoing Gayman's anti-Semitic narrative, Peters' story of Jewish identity emphasizes the "deceptive nature" of the Jews, their status as "an accursed people," their plot to "[pawn] themselves off as God's chosen people," their "[connection] with Babylon and one-world government," their affinity for "the Communist movement and the New Age Movement," their hatred "against Jesus Christ," and their role in the world as the "Anti-Christ."[194] Citing passages from the New Testament such as "'Ye are of your father the devil'" Peters links the Jews with the Devil thus offering a mystical explanation for their evil behavior.[195] But in this case Peters does not rely on the seedline doctrine for establishing the link between the Jews and Satan. Rather, he merely asserts that their satanic, evil nature makes them like the Devil. As a result, Peters' rendition of Christian Identity, although devoid of the seedline doctrine, evokes elements of mystical anti-Semitism as explained by Carmichael.

One can only speculate whether it makes any difference for a Christian Identity believer if the Jews are the literal or metaphoric children of the Devil. In either case, the Identity believer is taught that the Jews are enemies of the white race. However, on its surface, the seedline doctrine seems to represent a particularly pernicious form of mystical anti-Semitism. This doctrine forces attention on the so-called genetic connection between the Jews and Satan. By emphasizing this doctrine in their narratives, the purveyors of Identity have stumbled across a potent message for those who need to hate.

Endnotes

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